

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Citizens Councils Assn. Upholds Judge Roberts

The Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi has released a resolution upholding Judge M. M. Roberts' performance as president of the Board of Trustees of Institutions of Higher Learning in Mississippi. Terming Judge Roberts' critics "Revolutionaries," who "consider Judge Roberts to be the chief stumbling block in their road to ruthless power," the resolution said:

WHEREAS Judge M. M. Roberts of Hattiesburg, Mississippi has served with distinction as a member of the Board of Trustees of Institutions of Higher Learning in Mississippi for the past ten years and is presently serving as president of the board, and

WHEREAS the same forces of nihilist revolution which have disrupted campuses from Harvard and Columbia to the various branches of the University of California have also threatened the peace and stability, if not the very existence of, the University of Mississippi and all other institutions of higher learning in our state, as witnessed, first, by the riotous and disorderly conduct in the University chapel last February 25; and, second, by the petition in Federal court in Oxford, filed April 17, that the entire Board of Trustees of Institutions of Higher Learning be declared incapable of discharging its duties, and that a "receiver" be appointed by the court to administer all colleges and universities in the state presently under the Board; or, alternatively, that Judge Roberts be removed as President of the Board, and

WHEREAS the aforesaid alternative plea in the petition constitutes evidence that the revolutionaries consider Judge Roberts to be the chief stumbling block in their own road to ruthless power, which is to say that he is in fact a staunch defender of law and order, and of bona fide academic freedom, against violations by politically motivated groups, and

WHEREAS Judge Roberts is a dedicated patriot who has spent much of his life working for the educational, cultural, and spiritual life of the state of Mississippi, and

WHEREAS his energy, devotion to God and country, hard work, and thoughtful and helpful attitude towards others has served as an inspiration to all who know him and to the many who have benefited from his good works.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:

That the Executive Committee of the Association of the Citizens Councils of Mississippi in appreciation of this fine patriot and lawyer takes this opportunity to commend and praise Judge Roberts in his position on the Board of Trustees of the Institutions of Higher Learning. His presence there has been a stabilizing influence and a bulwark against the evils brought on by the permissive society and revolutionaries that have brought chaos, confusion, and destruction to many institutions of higher learning in other areas of this great nation.

The thinking, conservative people of Mississippi are proud to have such a man as Judge Roberts serving as President of

their Board of Trustees of Institutions of Higher Learning.

By direction of the
Executive Committee of
the Association of Citizens
Councils of Mississippi
R. B. Patterson,
Executive Secretary

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
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Miss Gandy	_____

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 5

The Clarion Ledger

Jackson, Miss

Date: April 23, 1970

Edition: Home

Author:

Editor: T. M. Hederman, Jr

Title: Association of
Citizens Councils of
Mississippi

Character:

or

Classification: 157-527

Submitting Office: Jackson

☐ Being Investigated

NOT RECORDED

46 APR 30 1970

58 MAY 4 1970

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Mr. Tolson	_____
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Miss Gandy	_____

Murry Martin Elected As State Director Of Citizens' Councils

The president of the Franklin Parish Citizens' Council, Murry H. Martin, Winnsboro, was named to serve on the 36-member board of directors of the Association of Louisiana Citizens' Councils at a statewide meeting held Saturday and Sunday in Alexandria. Dr. Emile K. Ventre of Opelousas was elected president of the Louisiana organization. The local council was well represented at the meeting. State Sovereignty Commissioner John McKinley of Monroe was one of the principal speakers on the program. Chester Coker of Winnsboro, a member of the board of directors of the Franklin Parish organization, told The Sun Mr. McKinley warned of the dangers of communism and asked the representatives of the various Citizens' Councils to constantly remind their fellow-citizens of the many advantages of a democratic form of government over a communistic form of government.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PAGE # 6

THE FRANKLIN SUN
WINNSBORO, LA.

Date: 8/12/65

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title: CITIZENS COUNCIL
OF FRANKLIN PARISH, LA

Character: RM

or

Classification: 157-

Submitting Office: N.O.

☐ Being Investigated

57 SEP 17 1965

NOT RECORDED
167 SEP 16 1965



THE 'NEW' SOUTH: A BURNED-OUT FREEDOM CHURCH

Notes From the South:

A 'Modern' KKK

(Editor's Note: The Ku Klux Klan is well known for the type of activity it engages in. An even more powerful group, active in the South, works behind the scenes. It controls state governments and, in Selma, Alabama, it has untold power. This is the story of the White Citizens Councils, as received from the Southern Reporting Service of Atlanta, Georgia.)

The National Guard Armory in Selma, Alabama was full of 1,500 white citizens in their Sunday best, eating barbecued chicken at \$1.50 a person.

"Thank god that I am an American, a Southerner, a Mississippian and a charter member of the Mississippi White Citizen's Council," yelled Ross Barnett. The former Mississippi governor was the main attraction at the Dallas County White Citizens' Council annual membership dinner and rally.

Barnett told them that "the secret purpose of our enemies is to diffuse our blood, confuse our minds and degrade our character, that we may not be able to stand up against the wiles of the devil."

Barnett's speech called for the maintenance of "racial purity" and the "Anglo-Saxon Protestant heritage," and continuing the fight against the "communist conspiracy." He seemed unaware of recent happenings in the country. Barnett talked in generalities. The people were looking for answers to their problems; they wanted specifics; Barnett talked of "Americanism."

The former governor did not once mention Negro voter registration which was in the minds of the crowd in a county where Negroes make up 57 per cent of the population.

Dallas County, population 57,000, is located in the heart of the Black Belt of Alabama. Selma is its county seat. It is a county where 87 per cent of all Negro families make less than \$4,300 a year and where 67 per cent of the Negroes do not have a high school education.

It is a county that boasts that it has the first, largest and most active chapters of Alabama's Association of Citizens Councils.

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Black
S.P. Davis
W. H. [unclear]
 105-34237-17
 NOT RECORDED
 46 JUN 24 1965

The Washington Post and Times Herald _____
 The Washington Daily News _____
 The Evening Star _____
 New York Herald Tribune _____
 New York Journal-American _____
 New York Mirror _____
 New York Daily News _____
 New York Post _____
 The New York Times _____
 The Worker _____
 The New Leader _____
 The Wall Street Journal _____
 The National Observer _____
 Date 6/5/65
CHALLENGE
PAGE 11

F38
 5 JUN 25 1965

Fallen
White Citizens Council

Associated w/ White Citizens Councils of Mississippi

MAINTAIN FASCISM

The announced program of the Dallas County White Citizens' Council is "to maintain states rights, segregation and racial integrity." The Council states that it is "leading the resistance movement against race mixers, and keeping advocates of racial strife out of many communities." It says that, "It is preserving our social and economic order by acting quietly and without fanfare...to prevent racial strife."

The Council's definition of 'racial strife' was brought out in an ad in the Selma Times-Journal, June 2, 1963. It was, "Is it worth four dollars (membership) to you, to prevent sit-ins, mob marches and wholesale Negro Voter registration efforts in Selma?"

In order to "prevent" Negro activity the Council must maintain control over the whole community. This means not only keeping Negroes "in line" but also whites who do not follow its program.

The white group maintains this control through two means: organization and infiltration. It organizes the white leadership of the community to effect its program, because in order to be effective the Council must eliminate all dissent from whites.

Most whites in the community are members, but not all by choice. "There is great social and economic pressure to join. Not to join would be socially lowering and economically damaging," a local white woman said.

'COOPERATE OR ELSE..'

The Council has many means to pressure those who do not join. In May 1959, the Dallas Council dealt with uncooperative whites by publishing a list of all business and professional people who were not members.

With the whites organized, the Council "infiltrates" the community, or as Robert Patterson, Executive Secretary of the Citizens' Councils of Mississippi puts it: "The Citizens' Councils think and plan as a group and then are able to act as individuals within their various churches, schools or any other other organization to which they may belong. This has already proved effective in many, many instances."

The Council most effectively works through individual members who are in important business and government positions. It uses these people to put its program into practice.

The Dallas County Council is a prime example of the group's power; its leadership reads like a who's who in the community. The president of the Dallas Council is former mayor Chris Heinz. Heinz is a member of the board of directors of the Chamber of Commerce and a leading insurance and real estate man. He is also a good friend of Col. Richard Ault, commandant of Craig Air Force Base, one of the major "Industries" of Selma. Ault has, on numerous occasions, refused requests by SNCC to declare Selma off-limits to Air Force personnel.

It was Heinz who introduced Barnett at the rally. He told the group, "We can no longer afford the luxury of the attitude of 'Let George (Wallace) do it'."

"We have arrived at a point when all white people must stand up and be counted," the former mayor said. "We must lay aside personal differences and stand united as one unbreakable unit."

—To be continued in the next issue—

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A 'MODERN'
KKK

(Cont.)

The Washington Post and Times Herald _____
The Washington Daily News _____
The Evening Star _____
New York Herald Tribune _____
New York Journal-American _____
New York Mirror _____
New York Daily News _____
New York Post _____
The New York Times _____
The Worker _____
The New Leader _____
The Wall Street Journal _____
The National Observer _____

Date 6/5/65

CHALLENGE
PAGE 11

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'Citizens' Council Must Detail Money

By JAMES SAGGUS
Associated Press Writer

The pro-segregation 'Citizens' Council must make a detailed accounting of money donated by the state Sovereignty Commission or find such contributions classed as illegal, it was learned Friday.

Informed sources said the State Budget Commission office has advised Sovereignty Commission Director Erle Johnston Jr. that such a detailed accounting was necessary to meet le-

gal requirements of the legislative bill appropriating the funds for the monthly donations.

The donations have been under fire in some quarters since they began with \$20,000 lump sum contributions in May, 1960. After that \$5,000 per month donations were made until March, 1961, when the amount was cut to \$4,500. The figure was cut to \$2,000 in October, 1962.

Records in the State Auditor's Office show to date \$193,500 has been donated by the Sovereignty Commission to the councils to help finance the council's radio-TV series, the "Citizens Council Forum."

At one point, a suit was filed in federal court to force the donations to stop, but it was not prosecuted. Sources close to the commission said in the past the reductions in the donations were actually compromises between those who favored them and those who did not.

The councils have had a strong voice on the commission, because several legislators who serve on the commission hold membership and official capacities in the council organization.

Johnston declined to confirm or deny the report.

Earl Evans, director of the Budget Commission, would say only his office had written a letter on the subject.

Dick Morphew, director of promotion for the Citizens' Council told the Associated Press he knew nothing of such a move. Council Administrator W. J. Simmons was out of the state and not available for comment.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 1

Clarion-Ledger

Jackson, Miss.

Date: 1/23/65
Edition: Daily
Author: James Saggus
Editor: T.M. Hederman
Title: Citizens' Council

Jackson MISS.

Character:

or

Classification: 157-316
Submitting Office: Jackson

☐ Being Investigated

105-34237

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NOT RECORDED
176 FEB 3 1965

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Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

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Miss Holmes	_____
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(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 1

Greenwood Commonwealth

Greenwood MISS

Date: 12-21-64

Edition:

Author:

Editor: 0

Title: CITIZENS' COUNCIL

MISS

Character:

or

Classification: 157-316

Submitting Office: Jackson

☐ Being Investigated

State Citizens Council Names New Directors

At the recent annual series of District Meetings held throughout the state, the following Executive Committeemen were elected to direct the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi during 1965.

They include:

State Representative Horace H. Warden, Jr., Starkville; W. R. Lucas, Macon; N. E. Dacus, Tupelo; F. M. Vaughn, Columbus.

State Senator Walter V. Moore Jr., Oakland; John C. Lake, Grenada; Maurice Black, Carrollton; State Senator George M. Parbrough, Red Banks.

State Representative J. A. Kilgipen, Jr., Cleveland; State Representative E. Wilburn Hooker, Sr., Lexington; State Representative Kenneth O. Williams, Clarksdale; State Representative John H. Hough, Indianola.

Judge Tom P. Brady, Brookhaven; Albert S. Gardner, Yazoo City; Lucien Gwin, Natchez; Ellis W. Wright, Jackson.

John C. McLaurin, Brandon; Jim B. Collier, Meridian; Sam O. Waggoner, Newton; Mayor Stanley Matthews, Canton.

H. L. Rankin, Jr., Columbia; C. G. Clark, Hattiesburg; State Representative Jim B. True, Gulfport; State Representative Charles G. Blackwell, Laurel.

This committee is the governing body of the State association and is responsible for the collection and dispersal of Citizens' Councils funds. They set the policy and supervise the Citizens' Council program on a statewide basis.

67 JAN 12 1965

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ADD. DISSEMINATION

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Anti-Mix Unit Deals Rebuff To Councils

JACKSON, Miss. (AP) — The Citizens Council pondered its next move today in the wake of a stiff setback—election of Eric Johnston Jr. of Forest as director of the State Sovereignty Commission.

The commission, headed by Gov. Ross Barnett, voted 6-4 yesterday to name Johnston as director, a move opposed strongly by the Council and 15 women on hand to protest the action.

Barnett announced the vote and noted that he did not cast a ballot, as would have been necessitated by a tie.

A new director for the commission, the state's official segregation watchdog, was needed after Albert Jones of Jackson resigned to run for sheriff of Hinds, the state's most populous county. If he wins, Jones will serve his third term as sheriff.

Johnston, editor of the Scott County Times, agreed to take \$500 less than the \$10,000 per year earned by Jones, Barnett said, and also to continue in his present part time job as commission publicity director, all for the \$9,500 yearly salary.

The commission admitted the women just before it recessed. The women said they were there to press the commission against electing Johnston.

Just before the commissioners emerged, one of the women emerged from the conference room disgruntled. "They elected him before we got in there," she said angrily.

The Citizens Council had apparently wanted Louis Hollis of Jackson, a staff member of the council here, to be elected. Hollis said yesterday, however, that he did not want the job.

Andy Hopkins of Jackson, a commission investigator and former Hinds deputy sheriff, was the only other man nominated for the post. He was favored by the council over Johnston.

Votes against Johnston were cast by state Rep. Wilburn Hooker of Holmes County and Joe [unclear] of Hinds, attorney Aubrey [unclear] and state Sen. John McLaurin of Brandon.

REC-53

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 19

NEW ORLEANS STATES
ITEM
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

Date: 3/22/63
Edition: Red Flash
Author:

Editor:
Title: Mississippi State
Sovereignty Commission
Jackson, Miss.

Character: RM

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: New Orleans

55 APR 2

105-34237-A
NOT RECORDED
MAR 28 1963
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AFFAIRS OF STATE

By CHARLES M. HILLS



SIGNIFICANT

The Memphis Citizens Council held a rally in that city Friday night, with Mississippi's Gov. Ross Barnett as the speaker.

But, our attention, has been attracted by an advertisement in a Memphis newspaper, appearing earlier which extended an invitation to the general public to attend.

In that advertisement there appeared a statement that a great many all over this nation might long since have taken to heart.

Said the Memphis Council:

"We intend to defeat integration by electing office-holders who are dedicated in their opposition to integration."

Integration has made inroads in Memphis. It is too bad the Citizens Council wasn't formed earlier in that city.

It is a matter of record that every time any city or community has been integrated, officialdom has given tacit approval, if not cooperation.

Mississippians have generally elected segregationists. But, even the vigilant eyes of our voters sometimes cannot detect the real caliber of an office-seeker without some investigation. But, so far, our voters have been fairly successful in selecting good segregationists.

ALLIGATOR TEARS

The Mississippi Citizens Council sends us in the morning mail a copy of a letter being circulated around the nation in an effort to elicit sympathy, and more important to the sender, funds for CORE.

We know that this epistle will tear your flint heart as it has ours. It deals with Freedom Rider situation and we should show sympathy as we read the CORE isn't doing so well.

The admissions fairly are Segregationist movement to Miss. of the CORE year.

With deaf ear, we pass on to you CORE's appeal:

"DEAR FRIEND"

"Dear Friend of CORE:

"Since January 18, Ronnie Moore, the 21-year-old Baton Rouge, Louisiana CORE chairman, has been in jail charged with 'criminal anarchy.' The charge carries a maximum penalty of 10 years at hard labor. In the words of the state district attorney, Moore, 'advocated in public and private opposition to the government of the state of Louisiana by unlawful means, and as a member of the 'Congress' of Racial Equality, an organization known to the offender to advocate, teach, and practice opposition to the government of the state of Louisiana.' His bond totals \$12,500. We don't have the money to secure his release.

"Rev. B. Elton Cox, a CORE field secretary has received a 21-month sentence and fined \$5,700 for leading a Baton Rouge protest march. In New Orleans, 254 CORE demonstrators have been charged with the crime of parading in support of fellow students. In Alabama, CORE has been prohibited from action by an injunction issued by state Circuit Judge Walter B. Jones.

"CORE has already spent more than \$350,000 on the Freedom Rides. The defense of the Freedom Riders in Jackson, Mississippi continues to cost CORE thousands of dollars each day in bond money, travel and other expenses. We desperately need money to meet these important obligations, and at the same time, expand our nonviolent training program, and provide help for local CORE groups, especially those in the deep South."

"In checking our records, we note that YOU HAVE NOT GIVEN this fiscal year (June 1, 1961-May 31, 1962) May I ask for your contribution Now. The

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Belmont _____
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Miss Gandy _____

THE CLARION-LEDGER
3/17/62
Jackson, Miss.
NEW ORLEANS OFFICE

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS'
COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI
RM

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need is immediate and urgent. Our financial cupboard is bare: Today, (February 26) there is only \$2,081 in the bank. Unpaid bills total \$25,450.

"In our battle for integration, CORE is fortunate in having dedicated men and women who fight nonviolently, who risk long term prison sentences, police intimidation, and physical violence. All we need is money to train and maintain them in the front lines in Louisiana, Alabama and Mississippi.

"Shall Ronnie Moore's battle be lost for the want of money? We appeal to you, our supporters! Please mail your contribution immediately.

Sincerely,

James Farmer
National Director

TWO-PARTY BID

Someone has sent a copy of a letter to this desk, heralding a coming event. Since politics is our business, usually democratic, of course, we pass it on to any interested.

Here the information on a letterhead of the Mississippi Republican Party:

Dear Republican and
Republican Friend:

You can help support sound conservative principles by attending a caucus of Third Congressional District Republicans at 7:30 p.m. next Monday, March 10 at the Indianapolis City Hall.

Keynote speaker for the event will be I. Lee Potter of Virginia, who heads up Operation Dixie for the National Republican Party. Mr. Potter will discuss progress of the Republican Party in the South and prospects for the future.

One of the main items of business will be that of deciding whether or not to field a Republican candidate for the U. S. House of Representatives. If the decision of those present is affirmative, a nominating committee will be named by the permanent caucus chairman who will be elected at the Monday meeting.

We urge that you make every effort to attend this meeting. Your presence will strengthen the conservative principle of constitutional government embodied in the platform of the Mississippi Republican Party.

Sincerely,

Republican Caucus Steering
Committee

Seymore Johnson, Chairman

W. W. Gresham, Jr.

W. M. Pitts

Tol Thomas

Julian Sides

John Cannon

eva

Peterson Heads Citizens Council

GOODMAN — E. O. Peterson here is the new president of the Citizens Council.

Others elected to serve with Peterson are E. P. Garrett, vice president; A. S. Donald, secretary and D. K. Gullledge.

The following committees were also named: Legal — Sam Hall, chairman; Ernest Wilson and Roy McDaniel, members; membership — Paul Hand, chairman; Wilbur Potts, John Killebrew and J. D. Neaves, members; education — Frank Branch, chairman; L. W. Owens, William Griffin, members; publicity — Hilary Thomas, chairman; Anthony McMullen and S. F. Allen, members; nominating — George Mitchell, chairman; Wilbur Potts and Anthony McMullen, members.

Mr. Tolson	_____
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Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGwire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Handwritten signature

105-34237

File 6-700

THE CLARION-LEDGER
AUG 25 1960
JACKSON, MISS.

MISSISSIPPI CITIZENS
COUNCILS MATTERS

NEW ORLEANS OFFICE

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Mr. Tolson_____
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Miss Gandy_____

OVER CIVIL RIGHTS

State Citizens' Councils Are Challenged In Test

By LEWIS LORD

United Press International

The influence of Mississippi's white Citizens' Councils is being put to a stern test in a controversy concerning the Federal Civil Rights Commission.

The commission has asked nine Mississippians—seven whites and two Negroes—to serve on a state advisory board which would suggest courses of action to be taken by the commission in the state.

The two Negroes, neither a member of the NAACP, reportedly agreed to accept appointment. Of the whites, a Methodist minister has said he will serve, an editor has rejected the offer and the others are undecided.

A similar attempt to organize a board failed last year after the Citizens' Councils said any Mississippian who accepts a board appointment would be a traitor.

Again, the councils are saying the same thing, almost word for word.

"It is our firm belief that no decent or responsible citizen in the South will be so stupid as to allow himself to be used for the betrayal of his own people," asserted William J. Simmons, editor of the official council publication.

"Any scalawag southerner who fronts for our mortal enemies will face the well-deserved distaste, contempt and ostracism that any proud people would feel for a traitor," Simmons warned.

However, there are indications some persons are willing to buck the will of the councils, whose membership rolls are filled with some of the state's most prominent names, including Gov. elect Ross Barnett.

State Rep. Joel Blass of Wiggins, who has been asked to serve, said he is undecided but vowed he would let "no amount of noise and shouting" from the councils affect his decision.

"I'm not about to surrender my right to think," Blass said.

He added that the racial problem cannot be solved by "name-calling" but can "be worked out only by men of reason and common sense."

O. B. Triplett of Forest, an attorney, said the commission told him it was interested in getting advisory board members with typical Mississippi viewpoints favoring segregation.

But Simmons repeated that any Mississippians who accept appointment automatically brand

themselves as "integrationists, whether or not they have the courage to admit it to themselves or their neighbors."

"Let there be no mistake about it," said Simmons. "We are engaged in an all-out war to maintain our segregated way of life. Our enemies will stop at nothing. The commission is stacked completely against the South. All it wants is the complete and total integration of the races in every state, including Mississippi."

M. Allen

FI 14 15

STATE TIMES

11/23/59

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI
NEW ORLEANS OFFICE

MISSISSIPPI CITIZENS' COUNCILS
(CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION)

R. J. [Signature]

105-34237-A

NOT RECORDED

47 DEC 10 1959

DEC 10 1959

CITIZENS COUNCILS

When the Citizens Councils of South Carolina were first organized to meet the threat of forced integration of the public schools, one of their spokesmen explained the purpose of the organization.

"We must avoid an emotional crisis," he said. "If some organization of leading, right-thinking people is not formed to meet the problem, the segregation gauntlet will be snapped up by rabid, radical groups that could do untold harm to orderly government and racial harmony in South Carolina."

That the Citizens Councils have kept an even keel was evident in the talks that were made at a state-wide meeting in Columbia this week. It is evident also in the lack of discord and friction in South Carolina as contrasted with upheavals that have occurred in some of our sister states.

The emphasis in this state, as was pointed out by Senator Marion Gressette, head of the committee familiarly known by his name, has been on these points:

- (1) Educational opportunity above social change.
- (2) Protection of the rights of the citizens.
- (3) Individual liberty and popular freedom.
- (4) Prevention of rebellion and upheaval.
- (5) Progress of all races.
- (6) Equal opportunity for individual development.
- (7) Re-establishment of Constitutional government.
- (8) The right of individuals to choose their representatives and to govern themselves.
- (9) Public acceptance of Southern precepts.
- (10) Continued communication between the races.

Senator Gressette and Farley Smith, executive secretary of the South Carolina Councils, cited the obstacles to the program as these:

(1) Lethargy on the part of the people and their leaders. (The attitude of "it can't happen here" has been the cause of difficulties in other Southern states.)

(2) Overzealous actions by individuals whose intentions are good, but out of tune with the overall program.

(3) Fence-sitters who are unconcerned, but waiting to jump to whichever side is to their personal advantage.

(4) Any interracial crime.

"Let us not lose sight of the fact," Senator Gressette warned, "that the basic issue is a showdown between government by the people and a dictatorship of the worst sort."

The Citizens Councils of South Carolina are handling their affairs with calmness, thoughtfulness and dignity—the opposite of the description ascribed to them by the forces who would belittle or destroy them.

THE STATE

Columbia, S. C.

Dated 6-25-51

S. L. Latimer
Editor

105-34237-A

NOT RECORDED

126 JUL 14 1951

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67 JUL 14 1951

ORGANIZE, ASKS RALLY SPEAKER

Act in Churches, Urges
Citizen Group Officer

The man credited with founding the white citizens council movement said here Tuesday night that segregationists should begin organizing within their churches in an offensive against mixing of the races.

Robert B. Patterson of Indianola, Miss., told a rally that segregation-minded Southerners also must "infiltrate" other organizations to make their point of view victorious.

Patterson, a red-haired former Marine major, addressed the South Louisiana Citizens Council at a rally in the Metairie Junior High school auditorium. He is secretary of the Citizens Councils of America and executive secretary of the Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi.

COULD BRING PRESSURE

Patterson said segregationists should ask themselves, "What do our churches stand for?"

"My church (Methodist) is worse than any other church I can think of on the integration business," he added.

He said by organizing within churches, foes of integration could bring pressure on ministers to support segregation and change the position of state and national church organizations which have endorsed mixing of the races.

"Ladies and gentlemen, we've got to straighten these churches out — and I mean any church," he declared. "Let's organize the laymen all over the South."

"Let's infiltrate the P-TA (Parent-Teacher Association). Let's infiltrate all these organizations except the NAACP and the Urban League."

LOVE CHURCHES, SCHOOLS

"We love our churches just like we love our schools, and we want to preserve them."

Joseph E. Niguerie, president of the SLOC, said the Negro population is shifting to the North and "in five to 10 years the people of the North will have the problem that we do and things will change there."

Harold J. Calder, vice-chairman of the Metairie Citizens Council and a director of the SLOC, called for more effort on the part of segregationists to head off racial mixing.

"You can't blame the Negroes for working hard for something they don't have," he said. "But it is hard to believe that the whites won't work just as hard for something they already have."

PITTS READS LIST

Robert A. Pitts, secretary of the SLOC, branded integration a "leftist propaganda instrument" and read a list of magazines he said should be boycotted by segregationists.

These were: Coronet, Life, Time, McCall's and Reader's Digest. He said the Ford Motor Company, through the Ford Foundation, and several distillers and cigarette manufacturers are pumping "millions and millions of dollars into the NAACP."

Another speaker, J. A. Wilkes, an SLOC director, said the white citizens councils in the South have enlisted some 350,000 members. "The councils so far have kept their enemy in check," he added.

REC-58

Chas. McCallister
W. H. K. F.
Martynoff

THE TIMES-PICAYUNE
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

4-15-59

Page 11, Col. 1

Citizens Councils - general
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RACIAL MATTERS

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46 APR 30 1959

EX-113

68 MAY 1959



Photo by The Times-Picayune.
CHATTING JUST BEFORE A RALLY in Metairie Tuesday night are Joseph E. Viguerie (left), president of the South Louisiana Citizens' Council, and Robert B. Patterson, secretary of the Citizens' Councils of America and executive secretary of the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi. Patterson was principal speaker at the rally at Metairie Junior High school.

Washington Schools CCC Topic

William Gerber, Memphis attorney who worked in a congressional probe of conditions in integrated schools at Washington, will

address a public meeting of the segregationist Capital Citizens Council here next Tuesday.

Gerber was an attorney for a subcommittee of the House's District of Columbia Committee in an investigation of Washington schools several years ago.

The Citizens Council originally planned a closed meeting. But the Rev. Wesley Pruden, council president, said yesterday it was decided to invite the public be-

Tenn. Ark.

D.C.

REC-5

cause of "the frightening seriousness of the situation and the urgent need to get our message to as many people as possible."

Gerber will discuss the standards and moral conditions that prevailed in Washington schools after the end of segregation, the Rev. Mr. Pruden said.

The minister, pastor of Broadmoor Baptist Church here, said he expected about 1,000 persons at the meeting.

7/E-J-SUK

BAUMGARDNER

CAPITOL CITIZENS
COUNCIL, LITTLE ROCK,
ARKANSAS

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ARKANSAS GAZETTE

ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT

DATE 9/18/58

PAGE 17

EX 105

57 OCT 15 1958

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BALGARDEN

Meetings Completed By Councils

The Mississippi Citizens' Councils have completed a series of conferences in the state to plan for their fall membership drive. The state headquarters here said meetings were held at Columbus, Grenada, Cleveland, Natchez, Forest and Hattiesburg. The drive for memberships will begin this month and continue through Thanksgiving. State executive secretary R. B. Patterson said. "The citizens' Councils are protecting the interests of every person who believes in segregation and local self-government, whether he is a member or not." W. J. Simmons, editor of the council's paper, said the "citizens' council forum" is now scheduled weekly on more than 100 TV and radio stations throughout the south.

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JACKSON DAILY NEWS
JACKSON, MISS.

Date 9/15/58
Page 14 Col. 4

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167 SEP 25 1958

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Segregation Essay Tilt Announced

A high school essay contest "dedicated to states rights and racial integrity" was announced today by the Educational Fund of the Mississippi Citizens Councils.

The fund announced that a \$500 scholarship for the winning essay submitted by a boy, and an equal scholarship for a girl winner, will be awarded.

The following essay topics were announced, with the entrant choosing whichever he prefers:

- A. Why I believe in social separation of the races of mankind.
- B. Subversion in racial unrest.
- C. Why the preservation of

states' rights is important to every American.

"D. Why separate schools should be maintained for the white and Negro races."

A pamphlet outlining the contest rules is available from the Citizens Councils state headquarters in Greenwood.

The pamphlet lists suggested references for entrants to study before writing the essays. All of the suggested references can be obtained, a few without charge, from the state Citizens Council headquarters.

The Citizens Councils Educational Fund is headed by the following officers: W. C. "Chuck" Carter of Mississippi, president; Kenneth Williams of Clarksdale, vice president; Ellis W. Wright of Jackson, vice president; E. Lett Lawrence of Greenwood, treasurer, and Robert B. Patterson of Greenwood, secretary.

MISS.

STATE TIMES
JACKSON, MISS.

Date 9/10/58
Sect. 2A Col. 6
Editor _____

59 OCT 14 1958

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**Georgian Heads
Citizens Councils
Of Ten States**

MONTGOMERY, Ala. (AP) — Delegates from 10 Southern states elected Roy V. Harris of Augusta, Ga., president of the pro-segregation Citizens Councils of America.

Harris, former speaker of the Georgia House, succeeds state Sen. W. W. Rainach of Homer, La., who has headed the south-wide group for the past two years.

R. B. Patterson, executive secretary of the Mississippi Citizens Council, was re-elected secretary at Saturday's session.

Progress reports from each of the state delegations generally reflected increasing public support for the organization's program for social separation of the races and sovereignty of the states.

JACKSON DAILY NEWS
JACKSON, MISS.
Date 8/18/58
Sect. _____ Page 2 Col. 5
Editor _____

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C

CITIZENS COUNCIL - GEN.

Citizens Council Program Slated

A new series of Citizens Council Forum programs to originate from Washington, D. C., will present views on the necessity of maintaining states rights from both northern and southern congressmen.

The new series will begin on television station WLBT, Channel 3, in Jackson Sunday at 2 p. m.

The new series will be inaugurated with a program featuring six members of the Mississippi congressional delegation. They are Reps. William Colmer, Jamie Whitten, Tom Abernethy, Arthur Whistead, John Bell Williams and Frank Smith.

The "Citizens Council Forum" is broadcast and televised on many other television and radio stations throughout the South. The program originated about a year ago. WLBT associate news director Dick Morpheus was in Washington several days making arrangements for the new series featuring congressmen.

W. J. Morpheus
WJE

Citizens Council

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JACKSON DAILY NEWS
JACKSON, MISS.

Date 5/30/58
Sect. 10 Page 4 Col. 4
Editor _____

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167 JUN 18 1958

55 JUN 20 1958

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EX-136

LETTERS FROM READERS

Negro Equality

State Times,
Your editorial today, "This is Not Pussyfooting"—is one well worth the time it takes to read—one you deserve commendation for in writing, the State Times, in publication... which is just one more reason the State Times is receiving national recognition throughout the journalistic field.
Please read on.
The principles of the Citizens Council, as originally founded, were not as a prejudice against our colored peoples, but instead, as strength through unity in taking a stand against any self-styled groups that would enhance the cancer of the socialistic movement against anything that we, as a Democratic way of life, cannot accept and must retaliate against. The segregation "problem" has

been created as such, because it has created a problem for those who chose to make an issue of it.
The key to our very existence—the heritage passed on to us from the original manuscripts of the Declaration of Independence, lies in only one way of life: Freedom. Freedom to believe, communicate, profess our ideals and achieve or accomplish a more profound society of democracy—a word we seem to have lost the true meaning of... and a way of life that is valueless until we realize the essential ingredients it is composed of. We do not condemn the colored people for wanting equality; this is a part of a democracy. We do condemn the organized movement of a political and economical force to strip us entirely of our rights as a part of the kingdom we all as Americans, achieved. How dangerous it is, to underestimate the forces behind this "Southern" controversial issue. The South seems to be the only stronghold of democracy we have left.
I am a confirmed States' Righter... not in the sense of a localized and a ridiculed political attempt at political recognition, but in the sense of the adaptation of "States' Sovereignty."
Respectfully,
ELAINE DENNERY
Jackson
P.S.—I am writing on behalf and in representation of those of us who still profess Kingdoms... in place of Empires. The Kingdom of private enterprise... and the incentive to work, produce, dream, build, perfect... by-products of a DEMOCRATIC WAY OF LIFE!

Baumgardner
BAUMGARDNER
W. H. Gardner

STATE TIMES
JACKSON, MISS.
4/27/58
Page 2 B Cols. 7 & 8

MISSISSIPPI
CITIZENS COUNCILS—GENERAL

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126 MAY 9 1958

EX-102

7-0 MAY 12 1958
7-0 MAY 14 1958
AUG 14 1958

**White Publisher
Fights Bias Group**

GREENVILLE, Miss.—Publisher Hodding Carter of the Greenville Delta-Times said if the legislature passes a bill authorizing donation of tax money to Citizens Councils he will fight it constitutionally in the U.S. Supreme Court, if necessary.

File 105-34237-7

*Paul
Klein*

Pittsburgh, Pa.
PRESS
SUN-TELEGRAPH
POST-GAZETTE
COURIER ✓

Date 4-5-58
Edition New York
Page 4
Column 1
Author of Article _____

Editor (on editorials) _____

Title of Case _____

60 APR 21 1958

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NOT RECORDED
44 APR 21 1958

0 Citizens Council - 8/1

**Senate Orders
Private Talks
On Council Bill**

BY THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
The senate judiciary committee
voted today to hold a private hear-

ing on a bill under which no
money could be channeled into
the pro-segregation Citizens Coun-
cils for propaganda purposes.
No date was set. Committee
members said representatives of
the councils will be asked to testi-
fy.
The bill has passed the House.

W. L. GARDNER
Willard

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JACKSON, MISS.
4/2/58
Page 4 Cols. 7 & 8

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STATES RIGHTS RALLY

SPONSORED BY
THE CAPITAL CITIZENS' COUNCIL
HOTEL MARION BALLROOM
TONIGHT 8:00 P. M.

Guest Speaker

SENATOR SAM ENGLEHARDT OF ALABAMA
LEADER OF THE ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS
OF ALABAMA

Senator Englehardt will speak on
States Rights vs. Federal Tyranny

—THE PUBLIC IS INVITED—



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C.F. Williams

file

**CAPITAL CITIZENS
COUNCIL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
LR FILE 105-189
Citizens Councils
ARKANSAS GAZETTE
ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
DATE 3/21/58
PAGE 5**

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REC-47

Simmons Reminds Iowans Cops Unused At Segregated Schools

Explaining benefits of segregation in the image of Dixie, the speaker in the South, William L. Simmons, administrator of Citizens Councils of Mississippi, pointed to interracial crimes and violence in integrated New York schools in an address before the Farmers-Merchants Annual banquet at Okla., Iowa, Monday night.

While he said he did not recall "a single incident where police have been required to keep order in a segregated white or Negro school in the South," Simmons underlined the fact that so far 41 New York schools have requested such protection under integration. "Yet, despite the dismal record of chaos and violence from the blackboard jungles of Brooklyn, St. Louis, and Kansas City, these years, we have become 'un-American' and 'un-Christian' because we want no such blackboard jungles for our children," Simmons told the Iowa group.

It is absurd, under these conditions, for the 'liberals' to try to force integration on the South when no Southern group has demanded that the North remake its social customs and institutions

in the image of Dixie, the speaker attempted to show.

Speaking of the violence in New York schools which "broke through censorship," Simmons asked:

"Where are the 'liberal' voices that clamored for the military occupation of Little Rock?"

"Where are the orders alerting Army units for instant duty in the New York area?"

"Where are the paratroopers?"

"Where are the professional dogooders?"

"Where are the swarms of reporters, the flash bulbs, the screaming headlines which we in the South have come to know so well?"

Explaining the Citizens Councils, Simmons said that they represent the substantial beginnings of a fundamental conservative

revolt, stemming from a deep unrest that has been growing for the past 25 years.

This unrest, he told the group, was impelled to active organized form by the bold attempt to abolish the Constitution by Judicial decree in 1954.

Simmons continued:

"The Citizens Councils are not just a sectional, Southern movement. It is very significant to name one instance, that we find ourselves working side by side with other patriotic groups in the North, to defend the Walter McCarran Immigration Act from heavy attack by the Communists and their allies.

"The Citizens Councils, as you have seen, are not just an extremist minority. They represent the broad stream of thought and attitude in our section.

"There is a direct conflict of interest between the conservative people of this country and these totalitarian 'liberals' who would use the Negro as a means to power.

"It is the view of many observers in the South that if some method could be devised whereby our two regions would align themselves politically on the national level, the mis-named 'liberal' elements in both parties would lose the inordinate influence they have exercised in the selection of candidates for President at the national conventions.

"I use the word 'liberal' in the current corrupted sense, of course, not in its correct historical sense. The word 'liberal' is an honorable term that has been kidnapped by those who are about as liberal as a steel trap."

BAUFGD

THE CLARION-LEDGER
JACKSON, MISS.
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Page 3 Cols. 1 - 3

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67 FEB 20 1958

its numbers many of the Southern bigots, demagogues, bullies, cheapsters, fossils, fascists, mumbo-jumbos and mau-maus who are always thinking themselves paged, the Citizens Council movement has had to fight for its good name and usefulness. The fight is never-ending. But it is being splendidly successful, I believe.

COMES KANSAS CITY, Mo. Its schools "peacefully" integrated, all love and white wonder (also black), until suddenly all is the opposite, such racial hate, division and disorder the police have to stand by day after day.

Whom God has put asunder let no man join together!

IS THAT BALL of fire swimming before the eyes of Southern Republicans a sunset or sunrise?

Present indications are of sunset, temporarily at any rate.

Yet there might just possibly arise among them now a statesman to exploit two immense facts.

One is that the national party's efforts to win the Negro at the South's expense have failed dreadfully.

The other is that while Southern Republicans may be decimated now in numbers, they will have as much power at the coming national convention as if they were not.

United and free they might dominate the convention in a direction indicated by the failure to win the Negro vote, persuade it what it may be ready to be persuaded—that the wave of the future, politically as well as economically, is the South.

EVERYTHING ABOUT this moment in the South is special, yet Southern politicians of both parties are determined to be regular.

THE SOUTH HOLDS 19 of the 34 standing committee chairmanships in Congress. It holds a balance of power on most of the legislation President Eisenhower wants.

It is able to dominate both conventions. Put a master of politics like Lyndon Johnson in command of it all of Southerners in Congress and back home. Democrats and Republicans let him be dictator for a day or for the period through the 1960 elections, and these states could inherit the earth in the earth's best interest.

Short of this, merely by being free in Congress and the two conventions, the South can dawn as the nation's major minority.

WHO SAYS THIS COOL and calculating column can't resist a beautiful woman?

One who is running for the Democratic committee and would be entitled to my support will not even be mentioned here unless and until she opposes the enslaving "loyalty" oath.

That is the great issue.

Shall the South go free and become the nation's major minority? Or shall it remain enslaved and blind like Samson, "eyeless in Gaza?"

No DeLahs will be heard nor any hair-cutting submitted to!

Gu

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES Tide Is Turning

Wider than the world is wide,
Older than the oceans are.

The NAACP is all shook up. "Incredible!" says Roy Wilkins. "Shocking!" What has happened is that the patriotic National Society of New England Women has given a citation to Senator Eastland and the Constitution.

The NAACP secretary thinks the ladies must just be ignorant. But he is the ignorant one. Ignorant of a turning tide—for the Constitution, for the national interest above pressure groups, for the "laws of Nature and of Nature's God."



The New England organization gave Senator Eastland the citation for efforts to "preserve the Constitution as the law of the states."

This involves something wider by worlds than the South and older by oceans than the Constitution. It has to do with the individual made in an image and his need forever of decentralized and limited government.

Minding our manners, heading our lines, a tide turns.

Listen to the St. Louis Globe-Democrat in an editorial called "Wrong Time for Civil Rights," deploring more civil rights legislation: "Civil rights have been given great attention in the past two decades, perhaps even more than is good for the ultimate triumph of the idea. . . . The eventual triumph of the brotherhood of man must come from education and from the individual rather than from legislative enactment. . . ."

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other organizations which are trying to ram civil rights down the throats of the South and elsewhere are making a dreadful mistake for their own cause by not proceeding with more moderation. . . ."

Indefatigable Executive Secretary Robert Patterson, of the Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi, who sends me this, recalls that the St. Louis paper was clamoring for civil rights a year ago.

and Mr. Simmons and others of the Councils there are immensely effective with such measures, it seems to me. They are encouraging massive resistance with proof of accumulating sympathies outside which could never be won with Ku Kluxeries.

NOTHING IS MORE important than that Citizens Councils appear to be first class now. It seems to me, and Mississippians are leading the appearance.

Their literature is well printed and chosen, with quotations from Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Byrnes, Henry Grady, etc. Correspondence is on good paper, beautifully typed.

Sensibly "racial integrity" rather than "white supremacy" is stressed.

And for all who run to read (including the foolish knights who stole the Council name) is the statement that the Councils are "dedicated to the maintenance of peace, good order and domestic tranquility in our community and in our state and to the preservation of our state's rights."

CRUELLY MISREPRESENTED outside the South, under constant threat of invasion at home by foolish knights and worse, obliged to include among

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. Clayton	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

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Dow

BIRMINGHAM POST-HERALD
Birmingham, Alabama
1/29/58
Final Edition

Citizens Council

RACON

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NOT RECORDED
MAR 6 1958

52 MAR 7 1958

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NAACP Setbacks

Group Loses Members, Runs Deficit, Fights Foes' Moves to Curb It But Leaders Plan No Let-Up In Aggressive Tactics to Speed Racial Integration

Portrait of Pressure Group

By LOUIS KRAAR

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

NEW YORK—The 48 directors of the combative, interracial National Association for the Advancement of Colored People met in Manhattan one recent morning to take stock of their battle-scarred organization.

The directors—from Atlanta educator Benjamin E. Mayes to former Brooklyn baseball star Jackie Robinson—counted some scars that are more than skin deep. A series of Southern state actions aimed at curbing the N.A.A.C.P. has contributed to these results:

Membership has dropped 48,000, or 14%, during the past year—the first decline since 1949. The association's operating budget shows a \$52,000 deficit for 1967. And the association faces long court fights defending itself against suits filed by Alabama and Virginia.

This stock-taking is of significance to a great many more Americans than those militantly engaged in promoting Negro interests. The N.A.A.C.P. has been a central figure in the race relations battles that have grown in intensity in the U.S. in recent months. It has been the most aggressive leader in the fights to speed integration of schools, to increase the hiring of Negroes in Northern and Southern factories and to eradicate other evidence of what it considers discrimination against the colored race. Its strength and its strategy will have much to do with the intensity—and perhaps the success—of such efforts in the months ahead.

"Time Is Long Overdue"

The N.A.A.C.P. setbacks the board heard about at its recent meeting were described to the directors by the association's lean, impeccably-dressed executive secretary, Roy Wilkins. The 55-year-old official, in his most orotund voice, added some words for those who wish the N.A.A.C.P. would slow down its integration efforts: "Our reply is that we're already going slowly, according to law and order, that 95 years have passed since emancipation and that we think the time is long overdue for us and our children to enjoy these rights."

This bit of oratory simply means the association, despite its setbacks, has no intention of becoming any less aggressive. Its strength remains considerable. It still counts 802,000 members. Its Washington lobby is influential. Its reserve fund now totals nearly \$250,000. To date its legal department has won practically every Supreme Court case it has undertaken.

The N.A.A.C.P. employs the same vigorous tactics today as it has used throughout its peppery 48-year history. It wages court battles up to the final appeal, eagerly solicits political support from both parties, maintains a constant, heavy public relations barrage—and raises money to back all its sundry activities.

Through its local chapters, the organization manages to keep an astonishing number of irons in the fire. Recently, for example, the N.A.A.C.P. was simultaneously engaged in a school desegregation suit in Atlanta, a campaign for an anti-discrimination law for private housing in New York City (the law was passed), a voter registration drive throughout the South and a campaign to bar blackface skits in Northern schools—among other activities. While the N.A.A.C.P. now has begun to foster some career guidance programs for Negro youths, it still functions mainly as a pressure group rather than a social agency.

Segregation Spurr

The power and importance of this militant group has grown with the national significance of the segregation issue. The N.A.A.C.P.'s legal arm handled the original school cases that resulted in the Supreme Court's 1954 desegregation edict, and it has helped in nearly all the hundred-odd legal fights to implement that decision.

Thus, the current Southern state attacks on the association, if successful, could well shift the balance of power in the desegregation controversy. Many Deep South areas would make no moves to integrate without continued court pressure.

The varied judicial and legislative moves against the N.A.A.C.P. are designed to counter its legal, political and other pressures for mixing the races. The Southern attacks include bans on state employee membership in anti-segregation groups, laws requiring publication of membership lists, rigid registration rules for N.A.A.C.P. chapters, and laws limiting organized support of legal action against segregation.

In the Supreme Court this month, N.A.A.C.P. attorneys argued against ouster of the association by Alabama. "If we lose this case, we're as good as half dead in the South," confides one official. Alabama is trying to keep the N.A.A.C.P. from operating within its borders; state courts have enjoined the association from doing business there because it didn't register as an out-of-state corporation and have levied a \$100,000 fine against the group for refusing to furnish membership lists.

A group of Virginia measures that, in effect, limited N.A.A.C.P. activities was struck down last week, however, by a special Federal Court in Richmond. The association has been fighting the laws for some time, and this decision represents a major victory. The voided Virginia laws required disclosure of membership lists and funds and registration with the state, along with a prohibition on "barratry"—stirring up litigation.

"Whatever the result of the Alabama case, it seems clear that the N.A.A.C.P. itself must face and fight a series of legal maneuvers designed to so occupy the time of our lawyers that they will be unable to push ahead on the desegregation front," declares Robert L. Carter, the association's general counsel, who now works full time on cases against the N.A.A.C.P.

Threats and attacks against the association, of course, aren't new. Sen. Talmadge (D., Ga.) has called the N.A.A.C.P. leaders

"the most accomplished and professional race baiters in the world." And the moderate, former Asa Carter, governor of North Carolina, Luther B. Ford, calls it a "militant and selfish organization." Attorney General Eugene Cook of Georgia insists the association is dominated by "subversive elements"—a charge refuted by F.B.I. chief J. Edgar Hoover.

But, as one temperate Southern observer puts it: "The undermining of the social tradition of racial segregation is, in the eyes of some Southerners, subversive. The fact this undermining has been done by legal means does not alter that judgment." Other Southern moderates question the use of legal pressure to achieve such a vast social change so quickly.

Even organizations which share most of the N.A.A.C.P.'s goals but generally shun its militant means. "We're trying to achieve the same end as the N.A.A.C.P.," says an official of the National Urban League, an interracial group, "but we prefer using the slower methods of education and community cooperation."

Cooling-Off Period

And since the violence of Little Rock, many friends of the N.A.A.C.P. from the North and South have been begging for a cooling-off period, to allow emotions to settle. But to an association founded in the abolitionist spirit, such strategy is unthinkable.

Two-thirds of the times that phone rings, it's some friend begging or cajoling me to slow down," reports chief counsel Thurgood Marshall. "Why, if I slow down any more, I'll be running backwards."

Sitting in the association's national headquarters with his long legs crossed, Mr. Wilkins says, "If we let up now that we have the Supreme Court decision, we'd lose a lot of Negro membership, a lot of liberal Northern support. Besides, we'd give Southern extremists more of a green light."

From his fifth floor office in the mid-Manhattan Willkie Memorial Building, Mr. Wilkins plans to keep his staff of 70 pushing. His goal for 1963: An end to state and local laws which the N.A.A.C.P. thinks discriminate against Negroes in voting, housing, jobs, transportation, and public accommodations.

This ambitious goal was set several years back by a membership convention, which in theory makes N.A.A.C.P. policy. Actually, the association is largely a staff headquarters operation, with Mr. Wilkins as boss and an elected board of directors monitoring major decisions. The 1,346 local chapters are more or less autonomous, but they must follow association goals and their success often depends on strong support from the national office for any major action.

Prestige People

Rank-and-file members comprise most of the present board along with a generous sprinkling of such "prestige people" as Walter Reuther, United Auto Workers president; Eleanor Roosevelt, wife of the former President; and former Sen. Herbert Lehman of New York.

Such "name" board members naturally help the association raise money and political support. About 85% of the N.A.A.C.P.'s \$700,000 annual operating budget comes from members' dues of \$2 to \$10, with the rest rounded out by contributions. Reserve funds of \$246,664 last year came from donations and bequests. In addition, the branches collect over \$400,000 in local dues, and donations to a separate national legal fund exceed \$300,000 annually.

Much of the N.A.A.C.P.'s cash will go in political action during the next three years. With the passage of the new civil rights law, the association plans to stress voter registration in the South. "The realistic immediate goal" for 1960, according to Mr. Wilkins, is to bring total Negro registration in Dixie to 3 million voters—45% more than now are registered in the 11 Southern states.

Voting Records

The N.A.A.C.P. makes a practice of specifying which candidates it regards as "friends" or "foes" of the Negro, and indirectly suggesting that voters support the "friends" at the polls. The association distributes voting records of Congress, for example, on issues it believes are important.

"Of course, we can't afford to ignore many issues, even if they're not strictly racial ones, because our people are concerned with rent control, minimum wage laws, and public housing," says Mr. Wilkins.

No one knows just how much influence the N.A.A.C.P. exerts over Negro votes. Mr. Wilkins, of course, rates the association's influence pretty highly.

Speaking expansively of the N.A.A.C.P.'s power, Clarence Mitchell, head of the organization's Washington lobby, argues: "The civil rights bill passed because we made it clear to Congress the only way to get back in office was to get a bill on the books." By 1960, he predicts, "We shall see colored Congressmen elected from the South."

This militant attitude on politics and other matters dates back to the association's founding—an event largely credited to a white Southern writer's indignation at a Northern race riot. Kentucky-born William English Walling wrote an angry article about a riot in Springfield, Ill., in 1903. After seeing the piece in a liberal weekly, the Independent, a New York social worker, Mary White Ovington, and a leader of immigrant groups, Henry Moskowitz, began forming the N.A.A.C.P.

Dominated by Whites

From the beginning, the association was dominated by whites and assumed the militant philosophy of the abolitionist movement. In more recent years, both the control and membership have shifted mainly to Negroes. However, current president, New York attorney Arthur B. Spingarn, like all his predecessors, is white.

Another change, according to Mr. Wilkins: "We've shifted from just a slugging outfit to one with a broader program." Few observers notice any let-up of N.A.A.C.P. slugging, but the association has broadened its activities among young people and in the fields of labor and housing.

A program for career guidance, political education, and training for future N.A.A.C.P. leadership is conducted by the association's youth and college division. Some 34,000 members, ranging from 10 years to 25 years of age, belong to this division, including white students from all-white Southern colleges such as Duke University in Durham, N.C., and Vanderbilt in Nashville, Tenn.

"The white kids in the South take attitudes very different from their parents. That's a real hope for us," declares lanky Herbert L. Wright, the young head of the youth division. "Of course, not all these white students come around all the way to our view," he adds.

The soft-speaking Mr. Wright talks enthusiastically of the career guidance programs the N.A.A.C.P. charters in many communities are running. "Most of our Negro kids have been brain-washed because they see little incentive

for doing well. We're trying to tell them of the many opportunities that are open so they won't be discouraged," he says.

A more controversial activity conducted by youths on the local level is sponsorship of economic boycotts to combat alleged discrimination. "We don't encourage boycotts, but they're free to use them," reports Mr. Wright.

Perhaps one of the hidden lines of N.A.A.C.P. strength lies in this youth division, many association officials indicate. At Harvard, the N.A.A.C.P. chapter claims to be the second largest student group on campus. And one of the largest chapters in the country (nearly 400 members) is at Oberlin College in Ohio, although most of the college's 2,100 students are white.

The housing department has gained new attention since New York City passed the first law outlawing discrimination in privately owned housing recently. "We don't try to lead Negroes by the hand. All we're trying to do is create a situation in which a man can live where he wants, according to his economic means," says Madison S. Jones, special assistant for housing.

Housing Booklet

A housing booklet the N.A.A.C.P. distributes to local leaders, however, suggests the association may lead some Negroes by the hand. The publication suggests that Negroes should apply to segregated public housing projects, and adds: "Notify the national office of such action and results. We will carry on from there."

"We work on discrimination in housing through public support. Even if it's private housing, that segment often has support from the Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration loans," says Mr. Jones. Both these Government agencies, the Negro official concedes, decline to do much about N.A.A.C.P. discrimination charges in private housing.

"F.H.A. has agreed to encourage developers who build integrated projects. And when there are repossessions, these buildings are sold without regard to race," claims Mr. Jones.

Whether this can be accomplished without disturbance depends a lot on the area—and the emotional climate at the time. Negroes moved into Levittown, L.I., with few objections from white residents. But when, shortly after Little Rock, a Negro bought a home in Levittown, Pa.—and took over the existing V.A. mortgage—stones were thrown and protest demonstrations were staged. The Negro, William Myers, Jr., still lives in the big development, but so far no other Negro families have moved in.

"Segregated Again"

Mr. Jones says the association doesn't want "to flood areas with Negroes. That would be segregation again." To charges that Negroes in all-white communities tend to drive property values down, Mr. Jones counters:

"Naturally, values will depreciate if some Negroes move in and all the whites move out. This practice has been aided and abetted by some real estate brokers." Most banks will not finance Negro homes in predominantly white communities, he adds.

Many proponents of racial integration in general question the N.A.A.C.P.'s wisdom in trying to control or regulate the sale of private property.

The association's labor department, headed by Arthur United Brotherhood official, works to remove racial barriers in industry and unions. N.A.A.C.P. Labor Secretary Herbert Hill approaches companies mainly through the non-discrimination clause in Government contracts. With unions, he uses moral suasion and appeals to the top command.

"George Meany's own union, the plumbers, refuse to admit Negroes in most parts of the country, North as well as South. The right to belong to a building trades union is usually a necessary condition for employment as part of the collective bargaining agreement," declares Mr. Hill, one of the comparatively few non-Negroes on the N.A.A.C.P. staff.

In New York's Coliseum building, uptown from the main association offices, are the new quarters of the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc.

Stack of Books

Counsel Thurgood Marshall, flanked by many of his weighty law books stacked on the waxed floor of his new office, explains the position of this legal arm. "We were set up in 1940 as a separate group. We became even more divorced from the association itself in 1956 after the U.S. Internal Revenue Department began studying our tax situation."

Though closely allied in goals, the legal group functions separately from the N.A.A.C.P. Contributions to the legal body are tax deductible, unlike those which go to the association itself. The association is denied tax-exempt status because it seeks to influence legislation.

The legal fund functions as a legal aid society for Negroes. "We don't take a case unless the man comes to us," says Mr. Marshall, a hardy, graying Negro.

Laughing vigorously when a reporter asks what the legal arm's strategy and long range battle plans are, Mr. Marshall replies: "There's no master plan. Naturally, the first segregation suits we filed were soft belly ones. We had to pick those that would get to the core of the problem. Now the cases come to us as they crop up locally. Ha! I wish sometimes we could hand-pick them. Perhaps it would be easier."

Segregationist Stamps Probed By Post Office

WASHINGTON, Jan. 3 (AP) — Post Office Department officials said tonight they would look into whether a segregationist stamp depicting soldiers with bayonets pointed at teen-agers' backs might be illegal.

The stamps bearing the legend "Remember Little Rock" are being distributed throughout the South by the White Citizens' Councils. Attorney General Eugene Cook, of Georgia, a segregationist leader, announced that all his official mail was carrying the stamps.

General counsel Abe Gott of the Post Office Department said he could not comment on the legality of the stamps until he had studied them. However, he said, Federal law forbids putting anything on the outside of a mail wrapper "intended to reflect injuriously on the character or reputation of anyone."

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Wash. Star _____
N. Y. Herald Tribune _____
N. Y. Journal-American _____
N. Y. Mirror _____
N. Y. Daily News _____
N. Y. Times _____
Daily Worker _____
The Worker _____
New Leader _____

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Ans. Pos.

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Boardman	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Holloman	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

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(SCHOOLS)

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS SAID TONIGHT THEY WOULD LOOK INTO A SEGREGATIONIST STAMP DEPICTING SOLDIERS WITH BAYONETS POINTED AT TEENAGERS' BACKS MIGHT BE ILLEGAL.

THE STAMPS BEARING THE LEGEND "REMEMBER LITTLE ROCK," ARE BEING DISTRIBUTED THROUGHOUT THE SOUTH BY THE WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL.

ATTORNEY GENERAL EUGENE COOK OF GEORGIA, A SEGREGATIONIST LEADER, ANNOUNCED THAT ALL HIS OFFICIAL MAIL WAS CARRYING THE STAMPS.

GENERAL COUNSEL ABE GOFF OF THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT SAID HE COULD NOT COMMENT ON THE LEGALITY OF THE STAMPS UNTIL HE HAD STUDIED THEM.

HOWEVER, HE SAID FEDERAL LAW FORBIDS PUTTING ANYTHING ON THE OUTSIDE OF A MAIL WRAPPER "INTENDED TO REFLECT INJURIOUSLY ON THE CHARACTER OR REPUTATION OF ANYONE."

ROBERT PATTERSON, WHITE COUNCIL EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, SAID THE COUNCIL WAS DISTRIBUTING THE STAMPS "BECAUSE WE DON'T WANT PEOPLE TO FORGET ABOUT THE USE OF TROOPS IN ARKANSAS."

HE SAID A NUMBER OF SOUTHERN OFFICIALS WERE USING THE STAMPS.

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*Association of Citizens Councils
of Mississippi*

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